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and physical study of Carangas Province in Oruro Department/," Boletín de la Oficina Nacional de estadística, Nos. 61, 62, 63, 3rd trimester 1910, La Paz, 1910, pp. 477-480. Buck ("Ein wenig bekannter Indianerstamm des bolivianischen Hochlandes /A little-known Indian tribe of the Bolivian Altiplano/," p. 55) estimates the population of Chipaya at 800 individuals in 1929! This figure is, of course, the greatest fantasy.

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161 government in 1910, estimates the population of Chipaya at 385
[114] individuals in 77 families. Although the first of these two figures seems a little exaggerated to me, the second appears exact. It
[65] may even be considered official as it was drawn from the number of "comuneros," i.e. the heads of families paying an annual tribute of 3 bolivianos (the Čipaya told me 2.40 bolivianos). According to my own census there would be about 100 households in Chipaya. As I do not know the principle which guided the authorities in their division of fiscal charges, I cannot decide how exact either of these last two figures is. Uhle,[2] who was the first scholar to mention the existence of the Čipaya, estimated their

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2. Uhle (Max), "Ueber seine Reisen in Bolivia /On His Trips in Bolivia/," Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, Vol. XXI, 1894, pp. 328-332.

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16 number at 500 individuals in 1894. As this archaeologist did not
[114] go to the village of Chipaya itself, his assertion is certainly very approximate and should not be invoked as a proof of the rapid extinction of this tribe. When one thinks of the barrenness of the environment, one is justified in asking oneself if this Uro group, exiled in the Carangas desert, was ever more numerous.

162 The population of Chipaya is divided in the following fashion:
21 Tuanta, with its subdivision, Warta-ayl'u, numbers 169 inhabitants
[161] (58 at Warta ayl'u and 111 at Tuanta properly so called), and Taxata 151. I doubt that in /116/ all the tribe is composed of more than 350 members. The numerical ratio between the sexes is 32 men to 26 women in Warta ayl'u and 86 men to 83 women in Tuanta. In Taxata the disproportion between the number of men and that of women (87 men to 63 women) is such that I can
123 only explain it by possible errors in my census. The native who
124 gave me the list of people in this "moiety" did so reluctantly and
161 very negligently. His reluctance is explainable by the fear that
651 this operation inspired in all the Čipaya. They saw in it a measure which would put their former rights in danger or threaten them with some unusual tax (1).

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1. A short time before the expedition, a half-breed in the service of the government had gone to Chipaya to make a census of the population and to compel the Indians to procure identity cards, an ingenious process thought up by Bolivia to extort money from the wretched native population.
[609] The Čipaya took the business very badly, and the half-breed, threatened with death, barely had time to escape. The Indians related the incident to me, still laughing uproariously at the terror

Carangas—
Chipaya

/116 cont./

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that they inspired in this functionary. The hero of this adventure even had the ridiculous idea of offering to accompany me to Chipaya.

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The Čipaya are not very prolific. Households with more than two children are rare. I know of only one with five children, two with four, and five with three. Infant mortality is very high, as in all Indian tribes. Couples without children are fairly numerous,

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and the Čipaya often remedy this situation, which they consider a misfortune, by the adoption of an orphan. For a pastoral people like the Čipaya, children represent a capital asset and contribute to relieving their parents of a part of the work that has to be done by watching over the flocks. Hence their despair if their union remains sterile.

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One must include in the number of temporary inhabitants of Chipaya village the people of Salinas who come to buy cheese. These individuals, for the most part repugnant half-breeds or assimilated Indians, sometimes remain there for a rather long period. Some Aymara from Sabaya or Iscara seem to be permanent-

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ly established in the village. These strangers almost always have shops and sell to the Čipaya coca, alcohol, and some small objects of prime necessity.

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The language. The Čipaya are all bilingual. Among themselves they still employ a Uro /Uru/ dialect, and with strangers, Aymara. This latter language is tending more and more to supplant Uro and has already eliminated a considerable number of the most common words. This infiltration of Aymara is already so advanced that there are no children over ten who do not speak it, and all the women, although the majority have /117/ never left their village, express themselves fluently in this language. The Čipaya have also undergone a Quichua /Quechua/ influence, as the Quichua elements in their vocabulary show. Spanish has also exercised great power over their primitive tongue. Its effect has

[16th Century]

/30 cont./

[175] [222] [262] its own, without cultivation, and which they call quinua /quinoa/ or canagua; all of these Indians are fond of and eat the leaf of same..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Historia del origen y genealogía real de los Reyes Incas del Peru /History of the Origin and Royal Genealogy of the Inca Kings of Peru/, 1590, Constantino Bayle edition, Madrid, 1946, p. 214.)

[648] [702] [726] /31/...The Uros were Indians that the Inca sent for when the army was short, and they were compelled to follow the flags, not knowing even how to hold a bow; they went into battle almost without weapons and they and some of the Puquinas were killed like flies; because they had no military training, they let themselves be killed like animals. /Translated from the Spanish./

(Ibidem, p. 184.)

Garcilaso de la Vega

[181] ...and thus the Puquina, Colla, Uru, and Yunca Indians, and other nations that are crude and dull, and owing to their crudeness, even speak their own languages poorly..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Primera parte de los Comentarios Reales /First part of the Royal Commentaries/..., VII, Chap. 4.)

Oliva (Rev. Father Anello)

[181] [648] [651] ...(Sinchi Roca) ordered that...useless people, as the Uros were, who are ignorant and useless, should each one of them gather one reed tube full of lice each month, so that no one should be idle..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Historia del Reino y Provincias del Perú, de sus Incas Reyes /History of the Kingdom and Provinces of Peru, of its Inca Kings/..., 1598. 1895 edition, Lima.)

Ramirez (Baltasar)

[131] The Uro Indians are a people who live on lakes, such as the lake of Chuquito and that of Paria, and in other parts.

[16th Century]

/31 cont./

175 They build their houses on the water on rafts of hay or rushes,
[342] which in Peru are called totora and in New Spain tule....

...They subsist on the fish of the lakes, which is abundant,
[262] although not very good....They dress badly and eat, aside
[181] from fish, what they can steal from their neighbors on land;
they are crude and coarse and almost bestial people. They
[648] were not accustomed to pay tribute or service; and on a general
[651] visit that Don Francisco de Toledo made he had them entered
in a tax register and settled off the water, and thus they now
pay tribute and service and live under the Church and in some
order..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Descripción del Reyno del Perú /Description of the Kingdom of Peru/..., 1597. Quoted by Victor M. Maurtua: Juicio de limites entre el Perú y Bolivia /Arbitration of boundaries between Peru and Bolivia/, Barcelona, 1906, I, 295-296.)

/32/ Herrera (Antonio de)

[824] ...in (this lake of Titicaca) there grow large quantities
of a reed which they call totora, which is fodder for horses and
pigs, and which the Uro Indians use to make houses and boats
[101] and for food, and whatever else they need. These Uros are so
wild, that when asked who they were, they replied that they
were not men, but Uros, as though they were another species
of animals..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Historia general de los hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas y /General History of the Deeds of the Castilians in the Islands and/..., Madrid, 1601-1615, III, 5th decade, p. 92.)

Acosta (Father José de)

[133] Into this lake (Titicaca) flow ten voluminous rivers, it has
only one outlet and not a very large one, although it is said
to be extremely deep; over which it is not possible to build a
bridge, owing to the depth and breadth of the water, nor to
cross over in a boat, owing to the fierceness of the current,
according to what they say.

8:Fain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
SF24 Uru SF24

101 114 Professor VELLARD from the University of San Marco, Lima, had been working for some time on the Uru living in a hamlet named Iru Itu near the juncture of the river Desaguadero and Lake 121 Titicaca. He was of the opinion that this group were 194 the last survivors of the original population of the South American continent, certain authorities contend that they originally came up from the Amazon as they have a number of linguistic affinities with 197 certain Amazonian tribes. Their language is known as *Pukina* and is thought to be akin to *Arawak*, the great linguistic stock of South-eastern America.

174 Once having reached the highlands, what regions did they populate? There is a belief that they ex- [361] tended along the banks of the Desaguadero as far as Lake Popo and were the founders of Oruro, which corresponds to the Uru words 'Uru uru', [177] meaning "many Uru". But at an unknown date they were dominated, but never assimilated, by the 175 Aymara. One of the earlier Spanish chroniclers, [361] DON PEDRO MERCADO DE PEÑALOSA, in a report dated 1586 in the Province of Pacajes, notes the presence, near the Desaguadero, of Uru, natives of the lake, where they were fishermen. He holds [348] [351] them in low esteem, remarking that they have no talent as agriculturists, and adds the revealing piece

[p. 303-B]

8:Fain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
SF24 Uru SF24

of information: "the Incas refused to teach them the sun-worship, being content to receive a tribute of fish and baskets", and elsewhere it is said that either from a hygienic standpoint, or to occupy their leisure moments, the Incas demanded yearly a reed filled with lice. Threehundred and fifty years later, the situation has remained unchanged. Their secret mythology, which Professor VELLARD has studied, is extremely nebulous and confused. The Uru consider themselves to be the first race of pre-humans whose blood is not red. They had long legs, long heads and they never suffered from the cold or damp of the lake. There followed successive creations intermingled with cataclysms, far from the sun's rays, and a deluge; among all the peoples only the Uru, the Kaote-ake, the People of the Lake, survived, but subsequently other races appeared, the Wone-ake, who cultivated the earth and were their enemies, and who vanquished them.

The Uru appear from earliest times to have been an accursed race, an unfortunate people forever oppressed, taking refuge in a form of passive hostility. „They are brute beasts", remarks Father ACOSTA in

[1]) See Review in the corresponding section of this issue.
[2]) See also: VELLARD, JEHAN: *Dieux et Parias des Andes, Les Ourous*. Paris, Editions Emile-Paul, 1954.

[p. 303-C]

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/159 cont./ need be done is to follow the system which the common people have, and what there is to remedy is not very difficult. And I wish to conclude with the following: that by the same token by which it is being pretended that the Indians should be treated fairly, by making a census of them and by apportioning the tribute by individuals or heads for the sake of this sum, this would do them greater injustice and greater harm than any which might be done by leaving them in their communities. And because, were it attempted that they pay equally, it is quite clear that, if one has ten sheep /carneros/ and another has none, the apportionment is unfair when the one pays as much as the other, and if one has a metal mine from which silver can be obtained, so that what he might get out of it in one day would be equal to the distribution for an entire year, the division cannot be equal with one who must work for three or four months to obtain his tribute as a single person, and if he has no ability, and they let him free, perhaps /160/ he will not even find it or earn it in a whole year. If their system were changed for them, however little their tax might be, and if one subdivision /parcialidad/ has fertile lands where normally they harvest more than does another, justice would not be done if they must divide the tribute man for man with another which does not have such. And one who has three sons who help him and several women who join him is to be taxed the same as one who has but one woman, and perhaps an old one, and has nobody to help him plant and harvest. The one who proposed this scheme will not come out well with his estimates. And if in one repartimiento there are both native-born and mytimaes, and they should want them to pay by persons, both the former and the latter, I am convinced that when the harm were seen there would no longer be any chance of remedying it. Or if the repartimiento has fishermen, who are men like the others, and even tradesmen who are for the time better able to weave and to make cloth than others, I do not know what apportionment could be made by individuals among people whom, every time the regiment /tercio/ comes, it will be necessary to put up nets

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/160 cont./ to catch in the water, since it is true that their homes have no other foundation than a few cattails in the water, which is where they may be staying this year, and next year they will probably move, sometimes five leagues away, and it is even true, to be sure, that if you should ask them about one another, they say that they have moved a greater or a lesser distance, and they dissemble a great deal, and they can not be located in a lifetime (132).

132. It is the Uros Indians to whom the Licentiate is referring. For information about these Indians, see what is said in this regard by the chronicler Antonio de Herrera, in his Historia General de los Hechos de los Castellanos /General History of the Deeds of the Spaniards/, etc., Decade V, Book III, p. 73. See also, concerning the Uros, Basadue, Riquezas Peruanas /Peruvian Wealth/, p. 196, Lima, 1884.

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And if in one repartimiento there is livestock owned by subdivisions /parcialidades/ in addition to what is communal, there is no reason to match those who have a large number with those whose fate is either to have none or to have much less; or if there is someone who considers himself so able and so sufficient that he can affirm that /161/ the tax and the distribution can take all of this into account, when the livestock are often 50 leagues away from the town, and the other things being matters which it would not be possible to verify in 20 years, even were everyone to work to obtain the information about what the Indians have, and each of them in particular, for I do believe, when I take into consideration the state of the World, that there will be no lack of persons bold enough to try it. But there is no reason to pay any attention to the way it may appear, because, even were it possible, it would first be necessary to divide by the number of persons everything which they have in common, which is everything that they

I /163 cont./
*651 hiring themselves out for a year. And this livestock, which is
*648 taken when they go to Potosí, is apportioned out in the distribu-
433 tion according to what each one in that subdivision /parçialidad/
I has, and sometimes the livestock of someone and that person will
*651 not go, and for others the reverse, so that, when it is understood,
*648 the system which they have among them has an accounting and a
657 reason and is very exact, for even when they are dealing with one
433 chuco of corn or with two pounds of wool, we see them make different portions when they divide it up, for it is a marvelous thing to see the diligence which they apply in order to insure that no one takes more than his share. I would regard it as very rash to consider changing a system which is so generally in use among new people, for which reason I wish to conclude with the distribution which the repartimiento of Pava /pava/ has made on four different occasions in my presence. These Indians were
I [162] taxed 11,000 pesos in silver, assayed and marked, without count-
U ing the other matters of food and cartage and sown land con-
[162] tained in the tax, and there must be, according to the old count
[280] of the first inspection, more than 4,000 Indians, although there
[464] is no doubt but that many concealed themselves, because the fishermen, who are what they call huros, cannot be counted and there are a great many of them, and even outside of their lands there are more than 1,000 of them normally hired out to make cloth. Of the huro Indians of this type, there is no doubt but that these are the best of all. I set forth the example in this
I repartimiento /164/ because there are three subdivisions
[631] /parçialidades/, one of these huro fishermen, who must be more than half, and some want to say two-thirds. The others are
U called casayas, and the other subdivision /parçialidad/ is çura
● [651] Indians, from all of whom, in order to divide these 11,000 pesos, there assembled about 30 principal Indians and quipocamayos, who are their accountants, or marcamayos, and, when they start off, their representatives keep upon the ground the stones and grains of corn and beans by which they keep count by their customary system. In the end, in less than three hours time, before me,

I /164 cont./
*651 each subdivision /parcialidad/ knew its share in this general
*648 division, because any fraud on the part of the caciques would
433 have been found out, and, since they understood their reasoning
657 and their accounting, there is no doubt that none of them would
4 consent to any injury for his subdivision /parcialidad/, and every-
● 651 thing which they take into consideration, as they declared to me
in their statements, was, I learned, impossible for us to be able
to learn in a long time, to the extent that it might be understood.
It suffices to say that of the entire 11,000 pesos, the portion
which fell to these fishermen was only 2,000, and, although they
were more than half, they were, so far as I could see, the ones
who most objected and who most unwillingly took the responsi-
bility of allocating it among their Indians and their subdivisions
/parcialidades/. And the others divided up the 9,000 among
themselves, and not equally, to judge by what we know of the
number of Indians of each of the subdivisions /parcialidades/,
with the result that, when I tried to find out the reasons behind
the division, for during a long period I had been making a par-
ticular effort to know their affairs in depth, I found out that they
considered that the fishermen, this tribute being in silver, were
not people who would be able to reside in Potosí in order to
procure it, and that since they would have to earn it in their
own land, what they had apportioned to them was enough. And
the fishermen said that in the time of the Incas, the huros never
entered into the contribution for any sort of tribute, unless /165/
it were service for the governors and the caciques, and they
helped to make cloth and wove mats and made contributions of
I fish. And they were never considered to be men or called by
[186] such a name, and the common terminology is thus to this day,
because if they are asked how many Indians are in such and such
an area, they say ten or twelve or whatever, although 20
fishermen may be with them, and if later it is said to them that
there were more, they answer that there were only huros, and
that they are not counted. All in all, these people never dig
for gold or silver, nor do they leave their land for construction
work, nor for war, nor are they counted on for any kind of

I /165 cont./
651 business. But there are so many in Pava /paua/ that there is not
648 so large a group of them anywhere else, nor do I believe that
733 counting all of those who are in Collao together, which is the
657 place where they are, the number could be so large; they were
U inspected and taxed with the whole repartimiento. Thus the dis-
651 tribution was made among all of them together, in the form
U mentioned above. And even yet, according to what they asserted
651 to me, they do not comply with it, which, in the state of
648 affairs in which this province now finds itself, is owing to a lack of industry, because those fishermen Indians are not supposed to be taxed with the others, but apart, and when one considers their condition and mode of life, neither should they be made to leave their land, nor should the tax oblige them to do so. Thus a very easy method could be found for dealing with them, inasmuch as when they should have made great progress in the articles of our faith, to their great benefit and repose, they could pay tribute like the other two subdivisions /parcialidades/, by becoming laborers upon the land, and with only 100 Indians who might be put on it, through their compulsory labor or work shifts/mitas o tandas/, as they call them, and giving them food and bringing them the necessary wool, and putting over them persons who could take charge of them, they could be made to yield as much profit and interest as I say. Let it be understood that they are not to be put in charge of anything themselves, because, having seen and dealt with this type of people, they have very little more ability than animals, /166/ and there are no others quite like them in the entire Realm. And if some should say that this was personal service, as they usually do, those who have more effects with their names alone than with all of the reasons in the world, but seeing it with one's own eyes, which is, it seems to me, the most evident proof of all, it should suffice to understand that 100 Indians well maintained, well occupied, and clothed will give the tribute that 2,000 could, spread out as far as Cuzco looking for it. For in this sort of employment they are capable and can earn their living at it, except that they are so disinterested that they are hiring

/166 cont./

U 65 648 themselves out for no more interest than half a peso per month. If they were all ordered to pay as tribute one piece of cloth, they would not comply, but they weave more than 2,000 to earn 500 pesos, while dying of hunger and being maltreated by U I [186] those people. Truly this is the way it is, that they do not consider them to be men, nor do they themselves consider themselves as such.

I *65 433 63 657 The other subdivisions /parcialidades/ considered the distribution of the livestock and of the little mines in Soroche, and they even said to one another that they had to pay more, because they were more capable in the kind of business which yielded silver, and they dealt with the quality of the lands, and it was thus from the first time that I saw them apportion the tax until the last. I learned that they dealt with these things quite minutely, with the result that I also learned that, among themselves, the ability to pay on the part of the subdivisions /parcialidades/ is well known, from the time when they are formed, and when there is anything new they know about it, with the result that in this general division they then come to an accord with little noise, and the thing is done, and there is no doubt but that none of the principales of any subdivision /parcialidad/ recognizes any other or is subject to him so that he could be injured by him, except that there is the subdivision /parcialidad/ of Anansaya (133), which is usually recognized /167/

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133. Anan-suyo = high region. Hanan or Hanac = high, what is above; suyo = region.

as somewhat pre-eminent in the making of accounts in their houses and in calling them together when it should be ordered. But among the subdivisions /parcialidades/ themselves there is no doubt but that they scrutinize every tomin in many places, and that none of them allows itself to be abused by any of the others. This must be understood, as I have said at other times, in many places, when dealing with the ability to pay, and the